1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

were a stranger to him, only by the way she wore her hair. If she were not a married woman, but one who was no longer a virgin, there would be no means of distinguishing her from a married woman by her appearance; only a personal knowledge of the facts would give the man a right to speak to her as an unmarried girl.

A girl, when going out into unfrequented places, providing she should be a virgin, took a child along as a chaperon. This child, of either sex, might be a brother or sister or a neighbor's child. The protection was based upon the fear of scandal, as the child could not be expected to keep a secret.

Among the chiefly people a virgin was called *taahine*, or more specifically, *taupoou*. Among common people a virgin was called *finemui*. A chiefly girl, when she ceased to be a virgin, was still called *taahine* but not *taupoou*. The daughter of a high matapule might also be called a *taupoou* and also bore the name *taahine*. The term *taupoou* was not applied to only the oldest virgin in a family, but to any and all virgins in the family. A commoner girl no longer a virgin was called *finemotua*.

If a young man refrained from cohabiting with women previous to his marriage, he was not highly desirable among the unmarried girls. But if a young man was reputed to have a wide sexual experience previous to marriage, regardless of his physical attractions or lack of them, he was held in high estimation by old and young and was especially admired by young unmarried women. Girls were warned to keep away from him, intimately, but taught to admire him. Such a man was said to be wise and was expected to treat his bride with more consideration during the first nights of married life.

Marriage Ceremonies

The marriage ceremony is to-day called *katoanga mali* (*katoanga*, festival; *mali*, English "marry").

The ceremony was divided into two parts: the first taking place before and immediately after cohabitation; the second, when the first born child was sufficiently strong to be moved, if necessary, from one village to another (generally when it was about two months old).

This second part of the ceremony was always held at the home of the man's father, who designated the time. The child remained at the house of his mother's people during the entire performance, taking no part in it whatsoever. In this respect the affair seems to be complimentary to the parents rather than strictly in honor of the child itself.

The following is a description of the first ceremony, the marriage proper:

Preceding the festival, a large representation of relatives of both the bridegroom and the bride assembled at the village or community where the bridegroom's father resided. The young man took up his temporary residence with his father, if not already

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Some forms of illness, called to-day *faitoo fakatevolo*, are believed to be caused by a god or spirit entering the body of a person and thus making him ill. Special medicines and cabalistic signs made with the hands are employed today to dislodge such an unwelcome tenant. Another belief of the present time is that certain illness is caused by the god or spirit biting the sick person. Such an afflicted individual may say, "Nae tai au ehe tevolo" (The devil has bitten me). I have heard it said that sometimes the discomfort caused by over-indulgence in liquor is attributed to a divine visitation.

Middle age is the most popular period of life at which a person becomes a medium for a god or spirit, although sometimes the deities and spirits manifest themselves through younger men and women, but never through children. Anciently, the god manifested himself through the successor of a priest, but only after the death of the old priest. Usually priesthood passed from father to son, but sometimes the deity or spirit entered some other person unexpectedly. That person would inform the Tui Tonga of the fact and would then be appointed to the priesthood. The priest of Pulotu Katoa was always appointed by the Tui Tonga, and presumably some other priests were too, although it is not unlikely that many were appointed by the chiefs of the families or lineages for whom they officiated. The priests of Tonga did not form an association or brotherhood, as each seems to have worked independently of his colleagues. This state of affairs is attested by the absence of organized resistance to Christianity. The Tui Tonga was declared emphatically by all informants, including Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, not to be a priest, in spite of the statement of certain early writers to the effect that he was the high priest of Tonga. My informants pointed out that the Tui Tonga did appoint priests to represent the gods and especially the priests of Pulotu Katoa, but that he himself was no priest.

Though the informant Tamale thought that the term *toumama* applied only to priestesses and that *taula* applied to priests, there seem to be no data to substantiate his opinion. Another informant said that the stem *mama* refers to the will of the god. This same informant gave another term for priest, namely, *fakahaeleanga*. No other informant, however, gave this term and it may be therefore another rare synonym for *taula otua*. Ana Manu of Haapai gave the term *fakafofonga* (representative) for priestess.

Each lineage seems to have had a deity with a presiding priest who had in charge the *fakafaanga* or precious and sacred possessions of its god. Part of the *fakafaanga* were fine mats which constituted a form of wealth. One mat in particular was kept folded and on the occasion of the appearance of the god was spread out for him to rest upon. This mat was treated virtually as a shrine. It might not be disposed of under pain of death at

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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whom she belonged as a prisoner of war, and who had been requested by one of the officers of the ship to send a female on board. Captain Cook, also, strongly notices the reserve and modesty of the females of these islands; and the observations of this accurate narrator will serve to corroborate what we have been stating. We have already noticed the humane character of the Tonga females, and in addition we beg to observe, that their behaviour as daughters, wives, and mothers, is very far from being unworthy of imitation: children, consequently, are taken the utmost care of; they are never neglected either in respect of personal cleanliness or diet: as they grow older, the boys are made to exercise thamselves in athletic sports; the girls are made occasionally to attend to the acquirement of suitable arts and manufactures, and of a number of little ornamental accomplishments which tend to render them agreeable companions, and proper objects of esteem: they are taught to plait various pretty and fanciful devices in flowers, &c. which they present to their fathers, brothers, and superior chiefs, denoting respect for those who fill higher circles than themselves. There is still one observation to be made with respect to females, and which is not of small importance, since it tends to prove

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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" ground, which shews that, of the two, wrest- 175
" ling is their most approved diversion *. Not 648
" only boys engage in both the exercises, but 526
" frequently little girls box very obstinately for [857]
" a short time. In all which cases it doth not
" appear that they ever consider it as the
" smallest disgrace to be vanquished; and the
" person overcome sits down with as much in-
" difference, as if he had never entered the
" lists. Some of our people ventured to con-
" tend with them in both exercises, but were
" always worsted; except in a few instances,
" where it appeared that the fear they were in
" of offending us contributed more to the vic-
" tory than the superiority of the person they
" engaged."

Such is the account we read in Cook's Voy- 114
ages; and the accuracy with which every thing is stated evinces a spirit of observation and facility of description deserving of the highest credit. The last remark which he makes in re- 175
gard to the contention between the English 526
people and the natives is a tolerably just one. 609
The natives themselves mentioned the circum- 114

* This inference is not correct: the circumstance above alluded to means merely to say, that when a man is knocked down, he may be considered as dead, for it certainly is in the power of the other to kill him if he pleases, and for this reason only he has a right to the song of victory.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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with them to some distant part of the island; and whilst an entertainment is preparing for them at the plantation of some friend or relation, they amuse themselves at some game, or, perhaps, in inspecting the building of a canoe, or a large house, or examining the state of the plantations; or in sailing about, if near the sea, or in fishing; or in practising dancing and singing. In these excursions the unmarried women generally accompany them. The married women, and those who choose to stay at the *mooa*, in the mean time employ themselves in one or other of the occupations suitable to their sex, or, if their husbands make an excursion to another island, they usually take a trip with them. The very young girls are generally employed in the early part of the day in making wreaths of flowers, which they have been out to gather in the morning before sun rise, while the dew was yet on them; for, being plucked at that time, they remain longer fresh.

Sometimes they amuse themselves with walking near Licoo * where there are many romantic spots; at Vavaoo for instance they often visit the cave of Tootawi and the beach of Mo-

* Licoo is the name given to the back or unfrequented part of any island, which is generally bold and rocky, and not fitted for the entrance of canoes. Some parts of the Licoo at Vavaoo were particularly romantic.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

6. The border or edge of anything is *kapa*, and I presume that *tau kapakapa* is the reduplicated form of that word, indicating the edge of the house. [539]

7. The inference is that Tongamauluau is exerting malign influence over Kulakehahau, and it is probably implied that she is not truly human. The narrator just here refers to Anumatenifa as *tevolo*, but whether it is meant that she herself is not really human, or merely that she is behaving with inhuman malignity is not clear. [192]

8. I do not know the meaning of the expression, *he funga tu*, but conjecture that although Kulakehahau and Anumatenifa dwelt in the one house it was in a condition of separateness from each other.

9. By the expression "kin of my father," Kulakehahau indicates that Anumatenifa could not be his wife. [602]

10. The variant which follows mentions that Tongamauluau went with only bark cloth wrapped round her.

11. An additional wife, or wives, brought to a man by his wife are termed *fokonofo*. A woman apparently frequently brought her own younger sisters, or other relatives, as *fokonofo*. Perhaps Tongamauluau means that when Kulakehahau deserted her to live with another woman it was because of a new love, not a new wife that she herself had provided, but just an unreasonable whim. [595]

12. The pining of children for absent friends and relatives is called *manatu* (remember). This is regarded very seriously by the Tongans. [858] [828]

Pages 41-43. Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau, a variant

1. Aofitoki and Aouli are said to be the names of two kinds of cloud. [821]

2. The meaning of *aituo*, a rare word in present-day Tongan, is difficult to discover, but apparently it is the shout of jubilation as a chief leads away his bride. [192]

3. Cloth with unprinted edges cut off is called *lotoingatu*; it is suitable for a chief's dress. [291]

4. The term *kulukulu-tuu* indicates "not put on in the usual way of the kilt (vala), but worn so as to cover the bosom." [291]

Pages 43-44. Tuiolemana and the crab

1. There is a mixture in these names of Tongan and Samoan forms. In Nukuseilala, *nuku* is a Tongan form, and *seilala* Samoan; *tui-o-le-mana* may be wholly Samoan. [197]

2. The word *misimisi* is commonly used to mean suck, but Labillardière reports it as used in a context where it apparently means sexual intercourse. [192]

Pages 44-46. Kalikihevae and the son of the Tui Tonga

1. It is possible to read the Tongan as though the disease had just developed as they reached Hihifo. [857]

2. Tongan women frequently chew food to soften it for their children.

3. The candlenut is a very popular detergent. [515]

4. The inference is Nua had already borne a child, but so beautiful was she that this did not diminish her desirability.

Pages 46-49. Vaenuku and Lepuha

1. The word *mua* is translated (29) as *distributeur, qui parle pour le chef; Ko 'ene mu'a, c'est son*, second. I have found nowhere else any reference to the custom. The second day of the three days assigned to marriage festivities is marked as the bride's bathing day. This bathing must be a special one, as no Tongan, unless in exceptional circumstances, omits the daily bath. Presumably the maiden's leaving her compound to go to the bathing pool was held to present an opportunity for an interview or, perhaps, for beholding the lady's charms. [539] [585] [515]

2. Presumably the meaning is that the maiden and Vaenuku had met and she had accepted him as lover; that is, the bride is announcing to those concerned the successful suitor. [539]

Pages 49-50. Fragments of a poem of Lepuha and Vaenuku

1. This name is also written Vainuku.

2. I am uncertain whether in the Tongan of this line the word is *si*, the plant

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 245 524 857 **21. Faka-hopo taokave:** Making *taokave* jump.

The *taokave* is a kind of coconut which bears small fruits, but carries a large number on the bunch. As the fruits mature the press of so many on the same stalk constantly forces nuts off the bunch. There is a boys' game called *faka-hopo taokave*, which consists in a number of boys lying down side by side all pressing in towards the center. Any boy who gets shoved out of place on to the top of the other must then go to one of the ends. The expression is used proverbially of a number of people giving someone the cold shoulder, crowding out an individual whom they do not want.

[578]

539 [137] **22. Fakatuamelie ki he ete mea oku tau he fuu telie:** Relying confidently on my thing that is hanging in the *telie* tree (*Terminalia catappa* or *T. litoralis*).

There is an old story about one who used to hang food in a tree for another to get. If the food were good and tasty it was hung in a *telie* tree, but if not very appetizing it was put in a *tavahi* tree *(Rhus taitensis?)*, The person for whom these supplies were left always anticipated with confidence that what he got from the *telie* would be first-rate, but never expected anything very good from the *tavahi*. Used generally of relying with full confidence on anybody or anything. (See No. 23.)

23. Fakatuatamaki ki he ete mea oku tau he fuu tavahi: Without confidence in my thing that is hanging in the *tavahi* tree.

To expect little good from any person or thing. (See No. 22.)

539 797 231 554 **24. Feji lou-ji:** Breaking off *ji* leaves.

This is recent, and is said to owe its being to the missionary's cow. The leaves of the *ji* (*Cordyline terminalis*) are used for cow feed, and a man who wanted to get into the missionary's good graces would recommend himself by his readiness to get food for the cow. Used generally of ingratiating services.

539 245 **25. Fokotuu nu:** Piling up coconuts.

Coconuts are very plentiful in Tonga, and large heaps are gathered. Applied to that which is in great quantity.

539 461 **26. Foui ne fai:** The *foui* tree did it.

This is the literal translation following the story told of the origin of the expression. The story is that a man and his wife lived together in a compound fenced all round, but at one spot a *foui* tree growing just outside the boundary leaned over within the compound. The woman often asked her husband to cut this tree down, but he procrastinated until at length a man of irresistible charm climbed up the tree and, thus gaining access to the inside of the compound, successfully paid his addresses to the lady of the house. To her husband's wrath she retorted that his own

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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239. Unga toho ngeeji: Hermit crab dragging shell. 539 825 461

The hermit crab, burdened as he is with the shell of some other creature, makes only slow progress when he moves. This expression is used of one who is slow in his work or movements.

240. Koe loli foki e vau: The sea-slug (*Holothuria atra*) anyway will be scraped. 539 252 226 136 521

This sea-slug is found in great numbers on the reefs; before it is eaten its outer bitter skin is scraped off. If those who go out on the reef for shell-fish and the like fail in finding anything else they are sure to be able to get some sea-slugs to scrape. Used of conversation which failing of topics comes round to some thread-bare subject or well-worn scandal.

241. Pulou kema: Veiled with a clam-shell. 539 735 571 167 237

Used to one who is ashamed to make a request. It is like saying "put a clam-shell over your face so that it cannot be seen and then beg for what you want." Also used of one who is very ready at begging things from others. He is as though he had no shame, as though his face were always shielded from observation. (Compare No. 395.)

242. Tafola vetevete afi: *Tafola* scattering fire. 539 252 857

The *tafola* is a kind of crab which is cooked by being thrown alive into the embers and whose death agony is marked by violent struggles which scatter the fire. The expression is used of a disobedient child who apparently makes a moral dispersal of his elders' commands analogous to the displacing of the fire by the luckless crab.

243. Takanga a pipi mo kahi: Companionship of the *pipi* and *kahi*. 539 825 571

The *pipi* and the *kahi* are two shell-fish which are often found together, but the *kahi* devours the *pipi*. It is like the companionship of a simpleton with a sharper who fleeces him. Baker translates the phrase: "To make a pet or comrade of one who will cause trouble or pain." (Compare No. 47.)

244. Tanu a uu: The burying of the robber crab, or the robber crab buries himself. 539 825

The robber crab (*Birgus latro*), burrows into the sand and buries himself, often for months at a time. He remains under ground so long that one might think he was dead but one day he comes again to the surface. So used of a thing that is long out of sight but at length comes again to light.

245. Tonuhia ae kaloaa ka koe vaka: The *kaloaa* is in the right but it is the boat. 539 825 183 136

The *kaloaa* is a shell-fish (*Arca scapha*?) which does not move about, unlike the boat which goes and comes at will. So if any disagreement

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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231 514 527 special kin, church-thanksgivings, and the like. It is well to be prepared for these possible functions with pigs on hand. Otherwise the pigs will have to be bought from whomsoever can be persuaded to sell. The price is likely to be high. Biukala, to take a typical case, has now five pigs, three sows and two boars. During 1938 he killed ten pigs: six for his [554] [565] son's first birthday (he also purchased an additional large pig for this feast, thus signalising with a memorable feast the prestige of his high status among the other commoner families of this village), two for Christmas celebrations, and two sucklings which he sold when temporarily short of ready [262] cash. No feast can claim to be a feast without the service of pork. Hence the premium on the keeping of pigs.

231 492 Most village households also own at least one horse. This is most useful for visiting distant villages, for riding (bareback) to and from the plantation, and more particularly for use as a pack animal in bringing back heavy loads of food and firewood to the village from the plantations.

231 [235] [262] [432] Many households possess a few chickens which are used as an occasional food relish and for feasts. The eggs, if any, may be sold for a pittance to the trading station, the manager of which takes them in turn to Neiafu where they are sold from the big stores to the European residents. Two families have several goats, useful for feast-occasions. The village overseer owns two cows and a bull. At rare intervals he sells a cow or a calf to a butcher in Neiafu. He slaughtered one cow himself for the birthday-feast of his son. Neither [272] [237] milk nor manure are used. The animals have mostly prestige value.

Pigs are nominally supposed to be kept inside enclosures in the village. They usually wander round the village, unhindered, unhampered, and occasionally venture into the bush where they often play havoc with the gardens. They are usually fed on mature coconuts, specially if fattening is necessary for a forthcoming feast. Otherwise they root up the free village lands hunting for roots and wallowing in the consequent mud baths during the rainy season. Goats, cows, and horses are kept tethered in the plantations where they find enough green foods to keep them in good condition. [857] Chickens are semi-wild, roosting in the trees and only to be

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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caught when wild-eyed, shrieking children are allowed to hunt them down.

There are a few dogs and a few cats in the village. The villager however, shows little interest in animals that are neither a potential source of food nor of value in lightening the burden of work.

There is no snaring of wild birds nor any attempt to make wild birds a part of the dietary. Flying-foxes are abundant on the higher cliffs of the island. Only one man in the village, a native of Niuafo'ou, shows any interest in these as an article of food. He occasionally traps them by knocking them with a pole into a net. None of the villagers has bothered to learn the technique. Part of the reason for this may lie in the fact that in ancient Tonga the flying-fox was one of the animals sacred to the Tongan deities. Possibly there has been a survival of this *tapu* attitude toward the flying-fox even though the villager is not aware of the reason for this attitude.

Economic Education

The growing child is inducted into the economic activities of the group very gradually and without many tears. He or she takes on economic duties according to the strength and skill at the moment. Thus, the six year old girl can start a fire and wash a few clothes though she will as yet make no attempt at cooking. The eight or nine year old boy is already being sent independently to the bush plantation to bring back food and firewood. By this age he is certainly capable of rendering assistance to the household in agricultural work. How much assistance he does render depends largely on the make-up of the household (on the number, that is, of able-bodied adult men in the group) and his ability to disappear with a gang of playmates whenever he senses his services may be in demand. A girl of twelve is already a good cook and housekeeper although she will not yet have learned to make mats. She will begin to learn mat-making techniques between the ages of twelve and sixteen, depending upon the interest of the mother as well as of the girl herself and her industriousness. She will have learned already the techniques of beating out bark cloth though the skills involved in stencilling such cloth and preparing the

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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553 604 574 43 [844] [562]

mother. The exchange of presents is greatest for a first-born son, greater for a first-born girl than for subsequent girls, greater for a first boy than for subsequent boys or girls.

GROWING UP

121

No systematic study was made of the life of children. The following note on one aspect only of this life is to be understood as only a statement of what appears to the observer of village life as obvious and frequent.

857 [561]

Children play frequently in groups which number up to ten or more members. There is little age stratification because most older children, older girls particularly, have the responsibility of being nursemaids for younger children and infants. Thus it is natural that the younger children should be members of a gang-group that is led by older children. The typical group, therefore, includes children between the ages of sixteen months and seven years. These gangs spend much of their time exploring and playing in the bush or on the beach. A good deal of aggressive behaviour is displayed within the group. Shouts and laughter of one moment give place to tears in the next as an older child picks up a coconut-switch and unmercifully beats one of the younger children for some disobedience.

[865]

854 855

As long as the infants are babes in arms they are petted, pampered, and played with. From the age of eighteen months or so onwards, the children are thrown on their own resources. This means that they are free to go where they will or where they can. The mothers expect assistance and obedience if the children are playing round the house when some simple task comes to hand. The child who disobeys or who is thought lazy in carrying out a command is generally severely beaten by the mother. The beatings, which appear to be village-practice in enforcing discipline, are almost all carried out by adult women or by older children. The men of the household are generally away from the village all day, working in their gardens. We never saw a man direct more than the mildest of verbal reproofs toward his child. The whippings and beatings are women's work. In one instance only did we hear of a man beating a youngster. This was the case of Bovai who became enraged over the alleged laziness of his adopted son, aged fifteen years. The

855 861

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boy was whipped so severely that he ran away from Bovai's household and sought refuge in the house of a relative.

Within the children's groups themselves, there appears to be a well-defined beating-order based on seniority, independent of sex and almost independent of measures of physical strength. A younger child takes the whippings of those older and in turn passes them on to those younger still. This principle of seniority runs also through child-labour. The rule seems to be: never do any task demanded by an elder unless it is impossible to find someone younger whom you can force to do the job instead. Thus, if our houseboy, aged ten, was about, our two husky housegirls, aged seventeen, spent much of their time and energy finding tasks for him to carry out. They would rant and complain and occasionally beat the boy until the job was done to their satisfaction. If on the other hand, the girls were absent and the houseboy with a friend was about, then it was the houseboy's turn to recline upon a kerosene tin and order his young friend to light the fire or to fetch water. The friend did as he was directed, on pain apparently of losing the immediate favour of the older boy. We had, on numerous occasions, opportunity to suggest to all concerned that a job to be done could often be done easier and quicker by the older youth rather than by an ordered-about younger person. The suggestion was obviously incomprehensible to our helpers. They would stop to agree with us. But immediately after the commands and orders would be resumed. The principle of seniority is generally well-defined in Tongan society at large. It is to be expected therefore, that it should in some measure be made the basis for the organization of interpersonal relations in the society of children and youths.

Children of all ages from infancy onward wear clothes. The minimum clothing for a young boy is pants with or without a shirt. Older boys generally wear a shirt or vest together with pants or *vala*, the latter always being worn for church or festive occasions. Girls always wear dresses. In swimming, boys would go naked whereas girls invariably swam in their clothes.

Puberty

There is no ceremony connected with a girl's first menstruation. She tells her mother who in turn explains

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

their antagonist and give him another very smart one with the other hand backwards. The boxing matches seldom last long, and the partys either leave off together or one acknowledges his being beat in that manner, but they never sing the victory in these cases unless one strikes his antagonist to the ground, which shows that of the two wrestling is their most approv'd diversion. Not only boys engage as often as the men in both these excercises, but frequently little girls, who are generally mention'd by some person in the circle, box very bitterly for a short time; in all which cases it does not appear that they ever consider it as the smallest disgrace to be vanquish'd, and the person overcome sits down with as much indifference as if he had never enterd the lists. Some of our people ventur'd to contend with them in both excercises, but were always worsted, except in a few cases where it appear'd that the fear they were in of offending us gain'd a greater share of the victory than the superiority of the person who engag'd.

THURSDAY 19th. The weather pretty good but at night cloudy with some showers of rain. Our people employ'd as usual. The Captain made a distribution to day of the live stock he intended to leave here, giving a heifer, bull and cow to Poulaho, a horse and mare to Feenou, and a ram with two ewes to Mareewagee, at the same time time giving directions how they should be rear'd and propogated: but they did not show any particular marks of satisfaction as if they considerd them a usefull acquisition.

FRIDAY 20th. The wind E or EBN. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. The people employ'd as usual. In the morning two of the Turkeys on shore were missing, and upon suspicion that the Indians had stole them the Captain confind Poulaho & Feenou with a guard at the tent, and orderd a large Canoe that was along side the ship to be detain'd; but they were soon releas'd on producing an axe and wedge & one of the Turkeys that had been stolen before, with a promise to restore the other Turkey.

SATURDAY 21st. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine weather but at night a few showers and squalls. The Indians, many of whom had been absent for two days from their being unable to procure victuals upon the spot, collected in great numbers about the tent and in the morning two large piles, each compos'd of the trunks of four trees plac'd near [each] other in a square about thirty feet high, were erected with pieces fastend across to get up by. These were fill'd to the top with large yams, and in the forenoon a number

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& twirl it about with great celerity so as not to let the balls touch each other; & have a game in which they alternately throw one hand towards each other, closing it quickly & repeating something, at the same time throwing down a bit of stick from several which they hold in the other hand;[1] besides some others, as repeating the numbers by pairs, at each time leaving out the first & taking in another &c. The Children have games peculiar to themselves as throwing up four, five or even six balls so dexterously that they catch them successivily & have never more than one in the hand at the same time, which is chiefly practis'd by the girls. The boys walk with a string drawn through half a Cocoa nut shell on which they put the opening between the great toe and next at the convex part, and hauling up the string take long strides as we do with stilts. They cut a string exactly in the same way as we do a garter, and take off one in various ways from the fingers,[2] with several other things of that kind which differ little from the pastimes of our boys.

We have not yet been able to discover whether their marriages are made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, but it is certain that amongst the bulk of the people Monogamy is the mode of men & women living together, and though the superior sort have commonly several women it does not appear that Polygamy is allow'd to any but their king, though the others are undoubtedly intended to supply the place of several.[3] It seems however of less consequence that the marriages should be rigidly binding where the free intercourse between the sexes amongst the younger sort is not at all reckoned criminal but rather encourag'd. The men in these cases seem to be the proper judges of what ought to be done, and often do not spend much of their time in a tender courtship, a circumstance which might be reckon'd a great rudeness did not the women on their side encourage it by a ready compliance. In short both men and women seem to have little knowledge of what we call delicacy in Amours; they rather seem to think it unnatural to suppress an appetite originally implanted in them perhaps for the same purposes as hunger or thirst, and consequently make it often a topic of public conversation, or what is more indecent in our judgment, have been seen to cool the ardour of their mutual inclinations before the eyes of many spectators. They seem to imagine that the same freedom prevails amongst other nations, at least with respect to us, for they never

[1] Mariner calls this game 'liagi', and says it is 'the first and most important of all Tongan games'; his description is in II, pp. 221–2. *Liaki* means to swing, toss, or fling, but does not now seem to be applied to a game.

[2] Cat's cradle—Tongan *matamatakupenga*—is widespread in the Pacific.

[3] *though the others . . . several*: it is difficult to see what precisely Anderson means by this.

535 829 The Tongans when seeing a modern rendition of the Hawaiian dance movement 'uwehe in which the knees were opened to the sides, were shocked (traditionally in Hawaii this movement is done bending the knees forward). A group of school children in Tonga did a take-off on 535 857 ballet for a program but refused to use their upper legs as is proper in ballet which caused their performance to have very little resemblance to classical ballet.

535 292 Movement of the upper leg is hindered by a tightly wrapped vala, a garment which extends from waist to knee for both men and women. Traditionally this wrap-around skirt-like covering was made of tapa; today it is made of cloth. Only during dances do the women wear the [291] vala to the knees. For ordinary street wear women wear the vala extending from waist to ankle under Western style clothes. 'Traditional' Tongan dance costumes used today consist of a vala of tapa (or cloth) completely covered with ti leaves, shells, seeds, or layers of tapa. On top of this dancers wear a waist mat (ta'ovala) of woven pandanus or a flower or leaf girdle (sisi) which extends downward several inches from the waist. This clothing not only restricts movements of the hips and upper legs but also hides any movement made there.

[824] Today for one type of dance called tau'olunga a skirt of shredded hibiscus inner bark (fau) is sometimes worn, especially for informal 535 or tourist type occasions. During this kind of dance the movements of the legs are a bit more free, but it is always the lower leg which

535 which is the widespread dance type. In Lapaha, children begin dancing
535 when very young. They watch the adults practicing faiva, they stand
644 behind them and dance, they then run off, form their own line and
868 play at faiva.

857 Performances of the ula today are at the same occasions as the
535 fa'ahiula. On these formal Catholic occasions an ula can follow after
[794] a fa'ahiula, or an ula may be performed alone. Ula are also performed
535 on occasions where it is important to demonstrate traditional
186 'Tonganness.' For example, at the opening of a private school in
[871] school in 1965, which was outside the governmental realm of the Tongan educational system, the headmaster of the school wanted to impress the Tongans with the traditional nature of the curriculum adapted to modern society. In the dance program following the dedication feast a lakalaka was performed, and then, instead of the usual tau'olunga, an ula was substituted. It was done with the si sia yahe ula rather than in the 'correct' way.

535 The most knowledgeable exponents of the ula are the same as for the fa'ahiula--that is, Ana Malia and Vaisima Hopoate who learned from their father. They have a repertoire consisting of six ula. Sister 'Okostino is another well known exponent of ula. Her repertoire consists of eight ula, four of which are different from Vaisima's.

[541] Ula, like fa'ahiula, are normally not performed during official
[621] government celebrations. During formal Catholic celebrations, only
[644]

342 quarters of the household head and his wife from the rest of the house. The larger portion of the interior is used for working, receiving guests, kava parties, eating, and as a bedding area for children and other members of the household.

351 Compounds often have small garden plots of decorative or edible plants, and hedges are a common feature around compound borders. Palms, (245) breadfruit trees, mangoe trees, and other large plants with fruits or barks of an edible or medicinal value are left standing in the compound, (142) but all other vegetation is removed. The lawns are cut and swept by the (857) women and children of the household. Pigs, goats, chickens, cows and (231) horses are often picketed or penned within the compound.

Relationships within the Household

592 594 Most Tongans have a preference for living in nuclear family households and this pattern is generally followed. Of the forty-two households in Puke, forty-one are nuclear families, eight of which contain an unmarried relative of the household head or the household head's 592 wife. One household includes three conjugal pairs, but two of the married couples were only recently married and have not yet established independent households. Village households have a mean size of 6.52 persons. (The 1966 Census of Tonga shows a mean household size of 6.9 persons for Tongatapu.)

592 594 A household, then, most frequently consists of a man, his wife, and their real or adopted children. Within his own house a man is tangata 'eiki 'chiefly man', and is the authority of the household.

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

NIU UI, NIU MEA. A clay-colored nut.
NIU MATA KULA. A red-eyed nut, used as a medicine for gum boils.
NIU MEALAVA. A green nut, used as a medicine for gum boils in young children. The husk at the top of the nut is grated and spread over the boil.
NIU KAFAKALA. A great favorite among the chiefs, because of its perfect shape and size. The milk has a delicious flavor.
NIU VAI. The largest coconut obtained in the South Seas. In the early days these shells were used for carrying water and when thus used were termed *hohoni*.
NIU TAUKAVE. Has a small fruit.
NIU TEA. A white nut.
NIU UTOGAU. A nut with a sweet husk which the natives chew like sugar cane.
NIU LEKA. This tree grows to a height of only ten feet and has a dwarf nut.
NIU KULA. A very different variety of coconut from all the others on the island. The nut is the size of a man's thumb; it has no milk, but a lump of white jelly surrounded by a thin, white, bitter skin. The tree is tall with a smooth body.

GAMES PLAYED BY CHILDREN

In the game, *kamotu'u*, several boys sit forming a ring; one goes to the center, closes his eyes, and stands looking upward until a boy from the circle touches him on the foot or leg. He then opens his eyes and goes to each boy in the circle, snapping his fingers in the face of each. When his fingers snap the loudest he has found the boy who touched him.

In *galigali a toke*, the boys stand in a row with hands on each other's hips. One player stands alone, facing the line. When the game begins, the line of boys starts running in a ring, and the lone player (*ell*), tries to catch any boy behind the leader of the line. While the game is being played this song is sung: "Galigali a toki, tuki be he ulu e toke." (Looks like an *ell* trap, but punch the *ell* on the head).

To play *touhuhu*, the boys hang a shaddock (*moli toga*) to a tree or stick and stand around it with sharpened sticks in their hands. One boy pierces the fruit with his stick, and strikes it to start it spinning around. The other boys then try to spear it while it is spinning, and the one who accomplishes this first wins the game.

Another game for boys is *tafau*. This is played with native bows and arrows. The weapon is made by taking a *kaho* stick about a yard long, splitting it down about twelve inches, and twisting one end of a piece of *fau* bark around the stick at the place where the split stops. The other end of the *fau* bark is held in the hand. The *kaho* stick or arrow is swung over the shoulder in playing, very much as if one

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were throwing a stone. The end of the *fau* bark held in the hand is released and the arrow shoots off to a great distance.

A bow and arrow game, *gahau*, is played with a very slender, supple *kaho* stick. The bow is made from a stout orange stick.

For the boys' game of *maka ta*, an implement very much like the modern slingshot is used. The bark of tapa or *fau* is used for the sling and a small pebble for ammunition. The sling is swung around the head full force, and the pebble thereby released and shot out into the air.

A Tongan dance (*lakalaka*) may be performed by any number of people of both sexes. The leader (*bunake*), composes the dance, teaches it, and leads the dancers. He chooses leaders (*vahegas*) for both the men's and women's parts, who must be of chiefly rank, as no one considers the *lakalaka* worth watching unless the *vahega* belongs to the family of a chief. The words and music (*hiva usu*) for the *lakalaka* have been handed down from early times.

The *fahaiula* is a dance participated in by women only. The dancing is done to the sound of drums, with groups of girls sitting around singing and clapping hands to keep time for the dancers.

A game for small children (*aamoa*) is played by ten or more little girls and an old woman. The old woman covers herself with a piece of *gatu* or tapa cloth and tries to frighten the children, who run to escape her.

The game *fisi* is for both sexes. A rolled mat (*tapakau*) is placed on end with a stick on either side to support it; the children have small dried pieces of dried *fau* wood which they try to send over the top of the mat with one sharp clip of the finger.

CLOTHING OF WOMEN

The material used in most of the clothing worn by Tongan women in the early days was made from *feta'aki* (white tapa cloth before it had been dyed or printed). The leaves of certain trees were also used, coconut fiber serving as thread for sewing them together.

Funeral garments were made from leaves blackened by several days' exposure to the sun. These leaves were sewed together with a needle made from the small rib of the coconut leaf, the bark of the *fau* tree serving as thread.

A more modern method of dyeing the tapa cloth for funerals is as follows: The natives gather a great pile of candle nuts (*tutui*),

/202 cont./

245 The entire copra production is carried out chiefly by the men.
[462] However, women and girls often help and even do such heavy work as
[857] splitting open the nuts and removing the meat. Children and old
[887] people of both sexes take part as far as they are able, especially in the easier tasks.

245 Copra is not always and everywhere prepared in this way; the
258 drying huts are more widespread on some islands than on others, and a number of Tongans, limit themselves to drying the meat of the coconuts in the sun for several days. It is only since the second World War that the Tonga dry the copra themselves. Before that the white dealers bought the cut-up coconut meat from the natives and dried it at their trading stations. Since they often bought large quantities and their storage places were limited, they were not always able to handle the copra carefully, and particularly during prolonged rainy periods they stacked the "green copra" and the "dried copra" in alternate layers in their warehouses, in order to dry the former. This method often resulted in a dark and slimy product. Through the creation of the
[435] Tonga Copra Board /cited in English/, which permits the natives to carry out the drying process themselves and gives them a stimulus for good work by staggering the prices (for A, B and C quality), Tongan copra has improved a great deal and has risen from almost the poorest level of the entire Pacific to approximately Ceylon-quality.

423 According to present-day law, which has superseded the arbitrary
425 power of chiefs, every Tonga who is granted an api'uta (527)
245 527. See pp. 172-173.
656 must plant 200 coconut /203/ palms. In practice, however, there are sometimes more, sometimes fewer palms on the individual plantations, either scattered over most of the api'uta or concentrated on one-half
245 of the land. The copra production of individual families remains about
433

/224 cont./

462

MEN	WOMEN
House- and boat-building	Helping clean up after plantation land has been made arable Halping with copra work, earth-oven preparation, etc. Gathering seafood Making hair- and body oil

887 Old people usually work along with the family to the extent that their strength permits. Those who cannot or need not work independently usually stay on at home and busy themselves with lighter tasks. Men,
462 for example, help in copra-making (drying), plait the crude coconut-leaf baskets or the "pola" (see p. 311) and make the coconut-fiber cords
868 (kafa); the women make mats, for example. Children grow into their
857 later tasks and duties as a result of the help which their parents demand of them at an early age (generally beginning at five or six years years). On the whole, they probably help their parents more than they play. Thus the boys lend a helping hand on the plantations, bring home some field products, help in drying the copra, often learn a few fishing methods at an early age and, /225/ along with the girls, carry water and bring in firewood; the girls help with many kitchen tasks (for example, shucking coconuts and scraping the kernel meat), they help with the laundry, they learn, at the age of 10 or 12, the various types of plaitwork, and even at this age assist in tapa-
857 making. In addition, mandatory school attendance in all the settle-
871 ments of the Archipelago takes up a great deal of time of the children of all ages.

462 This division of labor generally holds true, but it is not absolutely rigid. Thus, cooking is often done by the men instead of the women. Some men induce their wives to do rather hard work on the plantations, and it is the fate of a few single women that they are obliged to do plantaion owrk. A (young) man rarely works at mat-

/270 cont./

526 villages there are also table tennis installations; the game of
177 billards, however, is limited to the chief towns of the Archipelago.

541 Horse-racing, especially on Tongatapu and Vava'u, is also popular; it is engaged in mostly by young men who race along a definite course before a rather large crowd of onlookers (of all ages and classes) on horses kept in the villages; the victor always receives a prize in
526 money or goods. At the large school sport festivals (especially in Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu), gymnastics and track-and-field events attract lively interest of the people.

857 Today, children play among themselves, for the most part also in
526 European fashion. Following the example of adults, the boys like to
177 play cricket and tennis. In this they are, of course, not pretentious; when they play tennis, for example, a rope stretched between two palm trees serves as the "net" and with a simple wooden bat they knock an
857 old tennis ball over it. Marbles bought at the storekeeper's are pop-
524 ular among smaller boys. Many boys have little kites stretched with
177 packing paper; these the boys also make more simply by /271/ inserting the midribs of two coconut leaflets crosswise through a piece of paper torn from their school notebooks and then, with the help of a string, they let this simple wind-bird provided with a tapa tail climb five to fifteen meters into the air. Empty corned-beef cans with their colorful labels also serve as toys; boys aged about eight to twelve like to push around "can scooters" consisting of two such (low) cans forming "wheels" that are nailed to the ends of a short piece of wood in the center of which the "shaft" is fastened at right angles. Ten- to twelve-year-old boys often put together small sailboats with a halved coconut (or a wooden) hull and a tree leaf (or scrap of cotton) as a sail; they let this little boat sail in shallow water. Some boys also play with carved wooden propellers that are nailed to a small rod and that
526 turn in the wind. Boys aged about eight to thirteen like to ride the
857

/271 cont./

526 surf--as did the men in ancient Tonga; several of them (up to about 20)
857 let rather big waves carry them to the beach on box lids or other pieces of wood (approximately 70-100 centimeters long) which they use as "surf-
524 boards." It is possible that the "pop-cork" game which the boys nowadays
857 seldom play is of ancient Tongan origin.
[178] It consists of a small bamboo tube, two balls of twisted tapa and a wooden rod; they stick one ball in the lower end of the tube, shove it up to the mouth with the rod, then insert the second ball and push it up with the little stick while holding the tube vertically. With a loud bang the first ball shoots high into the air.

524 Girls at the age of six to twenty still like to play the ancient
857 Tongan game of "hiko."
883
[178] They throw two to six balls (=vaine fruits [Passiflora species]) (the number of balls depending on their skill) into the air, one after the other, catch them successively and keep on throwing the caught balls up again, so that all buy one are in the air. Sometimes they sing
[533] children's songs to this. If there are two players the second girl has a turn if the first makes a mistake or if she has been successful throughout the singing of the entire verse. Nowadays the hiko game is also
[871] taught in school, the teacher appointing a girl /to teach it/ from the village who is particularly skilled in it.

524 "Moa" is apparently not a very old game of skill played by girls
857 approximately seven to twelve years of age.

"Moa" is played with five Aleurites nuts. Two to three girls sit together. One of them starts to play by laying the five nuts on the ground, picking one up, throwing it in the air (about 1.50 meters) and, while /272/ it is still in the air, picking up a second nut with the same hand and then catching the first one. This tossing-picking up-catching is repeated until finally all five nuts are in the girl's hand.

/272 cont./

524 857 There are numerous variations of this game; for example, in the subsequent tossing series, while the first nut is in the air, a girl will pick up three of the four nuts lying on the ground and finally the last one, or she will keep all five nuts in her hand, throw one in the air, put another on the ground while the first one is in flight, then catch the first one and continue with this tossing-putting down-catching until all five nuts have been placed on the ground. If she misses catching one, if her hand slips, she has lost and another girl takes her turn.

Nowadays girls also sometimes play "Hinkekasten" /?/ and the smaller ones also simply play with empty cans to which they fasten a piece of string so that they have a little pail. The coconut-shell "stilts" with which one sometimes sees little girls walking around are, as the name indicates (su nge'esi niu = coconut-shell shoes), a modern toy; they put their feet on two coconut-shell halves lying on their open sides on the ground; on each of these, through a hole in the curvature, a band (for example, a pandanus-leaf strip) is fastened, and by pulling these bands which are slipped between the first two toes and drawing them taut with their hands they hold the shells firmly under their feet and can stalk about in this way.

524 526 177 [797] In summary we may say about the modern games of adults and children that most of them are of European origin. This change probably came about chiefly as a result of the influence of Wesleyan puritanical missionaries who strove to replace the "heathen games" with church services, prayers and bible-study. (743)

743. See Th. West, Ten years...pp. 213/214.

[565] The democratization of the Islands brought about by Christianization led to a decline of the power of the nobility and with it the loss of games tied to the nobility, as well as group sports and contests organized at the suggestion of the nobility. After Christianization of

241 the primary duties of women are cooking, cleaning and looking after
592 the children, they may also assist in the planting and tending of
462 crops. A rigid social division of domestic duties was not observed
[85] in Tongan culture, and often men or older children were seen cooking or tending the children while women labored in the household garden.

241 Tongan agriculture is based upon a bush fallow system. The terminology "bush fallow," in this investigation, is used to denote the Tongan form of shifting cultivation, in which a fallow period is included between cycles of cropping. This system is used primarily in the production of tubers for home use or local market sale.

The bush fallow cycle begins with the selection of a portion of the 'api for clearing, burning-over, and planting. The selection is based upon the requirements of the crop to be grown, in relation to the characteristics of the available land. For example, low swampy land is usually planted in taro, while yams require better drained, loose soil. Following selection, the land is cleared, a procedure which often involves little more than cutting small undergrowth, using a bush knife (Plate 1, p. 73). A A

134 Most Tongan soils are the result of weathered volcanic ash and are 60 to 90 percent clay. The soil structure is strong, as indicated by its formation and friability, very permeable, and generally exhibits characteristics of favorable tilth. Most Tongan soils are also high in calcium, magnesium and potassium. Phosphorus, generally fixed and immobile, is therefore unavailable in large quantities, although enough is released at a constant rate to

A [Plate has not been marked for a Category because
A of poor quality of the reproduction--Analyst.]

241 the cultivation of cash crops. Coconut palms, being relatively
[245] independent of the agricultural planting cycle, are a logical choice for farmers engaged in cash cropping in densely populated areas.

245 In addition to being the major cash crop export, the coconut palm is also invaluable to the Tongan as a building material and a source of food and drink. However, until land tenure is secure, many farmers are reluctant to enter large scale copra production.

241 Interviewed farmers also expressed reluctance to mix the cultivation
245 of food crops and large scale palm growth, because the shade from palms supposedly reduces the yield from food plants. Frequently, farmers eliminate all palm growth from small, scattered portions of their allotments, reserving these areas entirely for food crop production.

245 The frequency with which households collect coconuts and pro-
461 duce copra varies considerably. Survey informants indicated col-
245 lections every week, to once per month. In copra production, the coconuts are collected and usually transported to a central location, frequently the area of residency on an allotment. Here the nuts are split and placed in the sun to partially dry (Plate 11).A,A Later, the flesh is scooped out, dried thoroughly in the sun, and bagged
[372] for sale. Occasionally a crude kiln drying shed is used to dry the flesh, in which the heat is supplied by a fire beneath the shed,
[592] fed by discarded coconut husks and shells (Plate 12).B,A The produc-
[462] tion of copra usually involves the entire family, with men collect-
[85] ing and splitting the nuts, women extracting the flesh, and small children guarding the sun-drying copra from dogs and pigs. The

A, B [Due to poor qality of originals, plates have
A A not been marked for a Categ ory--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 106]